

2002

# Croatan Indians in Bulloch County

Malinda Maynor

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.georgiasouthern.edu/bchs-pubs>



Part of the [History Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Maynor, Malinda, "Croatan Indians in Bulloch County" (2002). *Bulloch County Historical Society Publications*. 38.  
<https://digitalcommons.georgiasouthern.edu/bchs-pubs/38>

This book is brought to you for free and open access by the Bulloch County Historical Society Collection at Digital Commons@Georgia Southern. It has been accepted for inclusion in Bulloch County Historical Society Publications by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons@Georgia Southern. For more information, please contact [digitalcommons@georgiasouthern.edu](mailto:digitalcommons@georgiasouthern.edu).

**Croatan Indians  
in  
Bulloch County  
1890-1920  
By  
Malinda Maynor**

Distribution Sponsored  
by

*Smith C. Banks Historian to the Board*

*Bulloch County Historical Society*

PO Box 42

Statesboro, GA 30459

March 22, 2002

Dr. Kemp Mabry  
PO Box 1993  
Statesboro, GA 30459

Dear Dr. Mabry,

It's been almost exactly a year since we last met and at long last I have finished my research project on Croatan Indians in Georgia. I recently earned my Master's degree, based on the enclosed paper. I hope you enjoy it, I could not have done it without you.

I look forward to hearing any comments or suggestions you may have.

Thank you very much,

*Malinda Maynor*

Malinda Maynor

Distributed  
by:  
**Bulloch County**  
**Historical Society**  
PO Box 42  
Statesboro, GA 30459

c/o UNC Pembroke  
Office of Advancement  
PO Box 1510  
Pembroke, NC 28372  
PHONE 910-521-6252  
FAX 910-521-6694  
[www.uncp.edu/lumbeeriverfund](http://www.uncp.edu/lumbeeriverfund)

## THE Lumbee River FUND

### ADVISORY COMMITTEE

organization affiliation is for identification purposes only

Bruce Barton  
Indian Education Resource Center,  
Public Schools of Robeson County

Gretchen M. Bataille  
Office of the President,  
University of North Carolina

Cherry Beasley  
Associate Professor, UNC Pembroke

Danny Bell  
American Studies, UNC Chapel Hill

Dexter Brooks  
Senior Resident Superior Court  
Judge, Robeson County

Donna Chavis  
Native Americans in Philanthropy

Jeff Currie  
North Carolina State  
Museum of History

Daystar Dial  
Artist/Writer

Josephine Humphreys  
Author

Stanley Knick  
Native American Resource Center,  
UNC Pembroke

Joel Garth Locklear  
Indian Honor Association

Malinda Maynor  
Filmmaker and M.A. Candidate  
in History, UNC Chapel Hill

Louise Maynor  
English Department,  
NC Central University

Waltz Maynor  
School of Education,  
NC Central University

Allen Meadors  
Chancellor, UNC Pembroke

Linda Oxendine  
American Indian Studies,  
UNC Pembroke

Theda Perdue  
History Department,  
UNC Chapel Hill

Glenn Ellen Starr Stilling  
Belk Library,  
Appalachian State University

Charles D. Thompson  
Center for Documentary Studies  
at Duke University

Harry Watson  
Center for the Study of the  
American South, UNC Chapel Hill

Walt Wolfram  
North Carolina Language and  
Life Project, NC State University

Malinda Maynor, Coordinator  
PO Box 1499  
Pembroke, NC 28372  
phone 910-521-9513  
[mmaynor@nc.rr.com](mailto:mmaynor@nc.rr.com)

***Croatan Indians in Bulloch County, Georgia, 1890-1920***

A paper submitted to fulfill the requirements of the Master's degree in  
History at UNC Chapel Hill

Malinda Maynor  
Department of History  
UNC-Chapel Hill  
CB# 3195, Hamilton Hall  
Chapel Hill, NC 27599  
mmaynor@nc.rr.com



## ABSTRACT

In 1890, Croatan Indian men and women, now called Lumbees, began leaving Robeson County, North Carolina to work in turpentine camps in Bulloch County, Georgia. There a Croatan settlement emerged that re-created many features of their North Carolina home. In this period, Georgia, and the South as a whole, legally encoded racial segregation and threatened to force Bulloch County Croatans into a black or white identity. But rather than assimilate into the larger black or white communities of Bulloch County, Croatans maintained an identity as Indians and eventually returned home to Robeson County in 1920. The story of their sojourn in Georgia raises questions about how Croatans perpetuated a sense of themselves as a distinct "Indian" people.

Indian communities mark their own identities according to a mix of factors, not just the "blood," "land," and "community" constructs that are meaningful to European-Americans. The Croatan community in Georgia maintained their sense of distinctiveness by maintaining kinship ties to North Carolina, by controlling their labor, and by building social institutions—a school and church—which were independent of place yet reinforced community loyalty and identification. These institutions also took advantage of Jim Crow and helped Croatans maintain community autonomy.

I hope that the story of this community—their initial involvement in turpentine, their transition to cotton farming, their construction of a school and church, and their decision to return home to North Carolina—helps students of both Native American and Southern history think about the interaction of racial and economic status, the various ways that Indian people demonstrate agency in preserving their communities, and the fundamental role that places can play in historical analysis.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research for this project would have gotten nowhere without the generosity of Bruce Barton, Barbara Braveboy, and Josephine Humphreys. Over a decade ago, Bruce Barton assembled documents and conducted oral history interviews concerning the Adabelle Indian community, and along with Barbara Braveboy, spearheaded the preservation of the Croatan Indian Cemetery in Adabelle. Both of them gave me much-needed guidance and without their work, precious little would have come to light about this community. Their love for their ancestors showed me the truest value and purpose of historical research. Josephine Humphreys' own eloquent writings and thorough research about Lumbees and turpentine inspired me from the beginning. She has, and I hope always will, given me crucial food for thought and generous encouragement. Kemp Mabry and Dorothy Durrence Simmons assisted my search through Bulloch County's history, and shed light where I was bewildered.

In formulating historical questions and writing a readable narrative, no student could have better teachers than Theda Perdue and Michael Green. With dogged persistence, they encouraged me to see the Lumbee story as the story of Indians and Southerners as a whole, and never allowed me to forget my academic and community audiences, nor my responsibilities as a student and scholar. I cannot count the number of times that their experience has benefited my research and writing. Their guidance has saved me from making many mistakes, but also shown me how to learn from the mistakes I did make. Karen Blu, Mark Wetherington, David Wilkins, and John Reed also led me through unfamiliar scholarly territory; their advice and previous work were critical to the interpretations I offer here. I am also grateful to Harry Watson and the Center for the Study of the American South for providing me with the support to write and reflect. My fellow students were also indispensable to my progress, and at times, my mental health—Judy Kertész, Karl Davis, Nathaniel Smith, and Rose Stremlau offered patient advice and invaluable insight. They removed my blind spots, seeing opportunities where I did not and steering me away from interpretive potholes. I am blessed to be surrounded by such dedicated scholars.

My family and home community in Robeson County is the inspiration for this project and my main source of support through both rough and smooth times. My great-grandmother, Malinda Brooks Chavis, was a turpentine in Georgia and my constant companion; my great-grandfather, Steve Maynor, lived in Adabelle and led me to one of my most memorable moments in research. I am grateful to Quessie and James Dial for generously helping me understand the world of the Adabelle Indian community. My brothers and sisters—Cherry, Cindy, Kevin, Johannah, Dane, and Ben—kept me focused on the goal and constantly humbled. But my greatest thanks goes to my grandparents, Wayne and Lucy Maynor, and Foy and Bloss Cummings, as well as my parents, Waltz and Louise Maynor—they taught me to think critically and have faith, skills that served me well in the uncertain loneliness of research.



In 1890, a group of Croatan Indians, now called Lumbees, migrated from their home in Robeson County, North Carolina to Bulloch County, Georgia. These families left voluntarily, walking the railroad lines, following the turpentine industry from North Carolina to southeast Georgia, where they established a new home and built a school and church to solidify their place. In this period, Georgia, and the South as a whole, legally encoded racial segregation and threatened to force Bulloch County Croatans into a black or white identity. But rather than assimilate into the larger black or white communities of Bulloch County, Croatans maintained an identity as Indians and eventually returned home to Robeson County in 1920. The story of their sojourn in Georgia raises questions about how Croatans perpetuated a sense of themselves as a distinct "Indian" people.<sup>1</sup>

After Indian Removal in the 1830s, remaining Indian populations received little attention from white Southerners. Most simply believed that Indians were gone or that traces of Indian blood existed in the free "mulatto" communities sprinkled throughout the South.<sup>2</sup> In 1835, North

---

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this paper, I use Croatan when referring to historic individuals or the historic experience of the people as a whole; I use Lumbee when referring to the contemporary group and when referencing scholars who have written about them. Robeson County Indians acquired the name "Croatan" in the 1880s, just prior to the Georgia migration. The name reflects a tribal origin theory that is popular with many Lumbees today. The theory suggests that Robeson County Indians are descendants of Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony, which landed on North Carolina's Roanoke Island in the 1580s. According to legend, the English colonists were taken in by a group of friendly Indians at a place called "Croatoan." This amalgamated group of Indians and whites later moved to what is now Robeson County and farmed, as one observer put it, in a civilized, "English" manner. This theory and the most comprehensive statement of Lumbees' assimilation is found in Hamilton McMillan, *Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony: An Historical Sketch of the Attempts of Sir Walter Raleigh to Establish a Colony in Virginia, with the Traditions of an Indian Tribe in North Carolina. Indicating the Fate of the Colony of Englishmen Left on Roanoke Island in 1587* (Wilson, NC: Advance Press, 1888).

<sup>2</sup> Such groups include the Melungeons in Appalachia, Turks in South Carolina, Wesorts in Maryland, Redbones or Houmas in Louisiana, and White Negroes in Mississippi. N. Brent Kennedy and Robyn Vaughan Kennedy, *The Melungeons: The Resurrection of a Proud People* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1994); Anne King Gregorie, *History of Sumter County, South Carolina* (Sumter, SC: Library Board of Sumter County, 1954); William H. Gilbert, Jr., "The Wesorts of Maryland: An Outcasted Group," *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 35 (August 15, 1945), 237-46; Dave D. Davis, "A Case of Identity: Ethnogenesis of the New Houma Indians," *Ethnohistory* 48 (Summer 2001), 473-94; Virginia Dominguez, *White by Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986); Victoria E. Bynum, "'White Negroes' in

Carolina's constitution erased any separate status for Indian groups in the state when it categorized Indians as "Free Persons of Color" and disfranchised them. After 1835, North Carolinians did not acknowledge Indians' separate cultural and political existence. Designation as "free people of color" forced Robeson County's Indians into an ambiguous racial status as mulattos "in between" black slaves and white freemen, until the state recognized them as Croatan Indians in 1885.<sup>3</sup>

Historians, genealogists, and sociologists have taken their cues from legislators and other outside observers and characterized the Lumbee as a "tri-racial isolate," a community with mixed black, white, and Indian ancestry.<sup>4</sup> These scholars emphasize how Lumbees' racial composition influences their identity, and often conclude that Lumbees have invented their cultural distinctiveness. Other factors also make Lumbees non-distinct from their neighbors—they share their homeland with non-Indians and they practice the religions, foodways, and political strategies of many other Southern communities. Much of the historical and anthropological literature on Indian ethnicity has defined an "Indian" as an individual who is racially different from American immigrant groups, who has an historical, continuous attachment to a particular place, and who belongs to a community that shares a common political organization and set of

---

Segregated Mississippi: Miscegenation, Racial Identity, and the Law," *The Journal of Southern History* 64 (May 1998), 247-276.

<sup>3</sup> For the role of the 1835 Constitution in Lumbee racial identity, see William McKee Evans, *To Die Game: The Story of the Lowry Band, Indian Guerillas of Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana University Press, 1971), 32-3; Karen I. Blu, *The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 46-50; McMillan, 17.

<sup>4</sup> Brewton Berry, *Almost White* (New York: Macmillan, 1963); Virginia DeMarce, "Looking at Legends—Lumbee and Melungeon: Applied Genealogy and the Origins of Tri-Racial Isolate Settlements," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 81 (March 1993), 24-45; DeMarce, "'Verry Slitly Mixt': Tri-racial Isolate Families of the Upper South—A Genealogical Study," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 80 (March 1992), 5-35; Paul Heinegg, *Free African Americans of North Carolina, Virginia, and South Carolina: From the Colonial Period to about 1820* (Baltimore, MD: Clearfield, 2001); Guy B. Johnson, "Personality in a White-Indian-Negro Community," *American Sociological Review* 4 (1939), 516-23.



rituals different from their neighbors. For scholars who define tribal Indian identity by "blood," "land," and "community," the Lumbee are not "real" Indians.<sup>5</sup>

While on the surface these criteria seem like "natural" extensions of Indian groups' characteristics, such measures are social constructions responding more to particular historical circumstances and non-Indian concerns than anything "true" or "natural" about Indian communities, even those outside the South.<sup>6</sup> Indian groups negotiate their identities in a variety of ways that are not recognizable by outsiders and which take place entirely in their absence. Indian communities mark their own identities according to a mix of factors that exist independently of European-American constructions of race or culture; contested identities and visible change within communities do not represent a loss of identity but rather demonstrate that identity, like culture, is subject to constant renegotiation.<sup>7</sup> This negotiation takes the form of a conversation between the group's internal ways of recognizing one another and outsiders'

---

<sup>5</sup> These criteria of Indian identity are derived from Raymond D. Fogelson, "Perspectives on Native American Identity," in *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects*, Russell Thornton, ed. (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998); Joane Nagel, "American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Politics and the Resurgence of Identity," *American Sociological Review* 60 (December 1995), 947-65.

<sup>6</sup> Sociologists and legal historians have identified the ways in which conventional markers of Indian identity rely upon non-Indian concerns. See Angela Gonzales, "The (Re)Articulation of American Indian Identity: Maintaining Boundaries and Regulating Access to Ethnically Tied Resources," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 22 (1998), 199-225; Anne Merline McCulloch and David E. Wilkins, "'Constructing' Nations Within States: the Quest for Federal Recognition by the Catawba and Lumbee Tribes," *American Indian Quarterly* 19 (Summer 1995), 361-87; M. Annette Jaimes, "Federal Indian Identification Policy: A Usurpation of Indigenous Sovereignty in North America," in *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, M. Annette Jaimes, ed. (Boston: South End Press, 1992), 123-38; C. Matthew Snipp, *American Indians: First of this Land* (New York: Russell Sage, 1989), chp. 2; James A. Clifton, "Alternate Identities and Cultural Frontiers," in Clifton, ed., *Being and Becoming Indian: Biographical Studies of North American Frontiers* (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1989), 11, 21-22.

<sup>7</sup> Morris Foster and Loretta Fowler document identity negotiation among the Comanche and Gros Ventre. See Morris W. Foster, *Being Comanche: A Social History of an American Indian Community* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1991) and Loretta Fowler, *Shared Symbols, Contested Meanings: Gros Ventre Culture and History, 1778-1984* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987).



recognition of their distinctiveness as a group.<sup>8</sup> Lumbees, and their Croatan forebears, negotiate identity in the same manner as other Indian groups.

Race is an important lens through which scholars have discussed Lumbee identity. The cultural segregation of the Reconstruction and Jim Crow south necessitated such constructions; the one-drop rule made race the determinative factor in identity and circumscribed social opportunity for whites and non-whites.<sup>9</sup> Racial constructions in the segregation era have led some scholars to argue that because Lumbees lack conventional markers of "Indianness," they are not Indians at all and have only claimed to be Indian to avoid being categorized as "black" in a bi-racial society. According to scholars such as Brewton Berry, Guy Benton Johnson, and others, whites refused to accept Lumbees as "white" because they were not racially pure.<sup>10</sup> Lumbees then resisted classification as "black," a rational decision in the South's racially oppressive society. Being "Indian" was an escape from being "black."

But these scholars failed to see that being "not black" was only one expression of Indian identity and "one particularly likely to occur in the presence of whites."<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, they assumed that Lumbees had accepted the particular racial hierarchy of the South since the arrival of Europeans and Africans. For a long period, however, Lumbees formulated identities in the

---

<sup>8</sup> Joane Nagel, *American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969); Clifton, "Alternate Identities and Cultural Frontiers"; Foster.

<sup>9</sup> For how Jim Crow affected Indian and mixed-race identities in the South, see Davis, Bynum, and Laura L. Lovett, "'African and Cherokee By Choice': Race and Resistance under Legalized Segregation," *American Indian Quarterly* 22 (Winter/Spring 1998), 203-29.

<sup>10</sup> See Berry and Johnson; also J.K. Dane and B. Eugene Griessman, "The Collective Identity of Marginal Peoples: The North Carolina Experience," *American Anthropologist* 74 (Feb-April 1972), 694-704; Fergus M. Bordewich, *Killing the White Man's Indian: Reinventing Native Americans at the End of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Doubleday, 1996).

<sup>11</sup> Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 233. In labeling the Lumbees a "tri-racial isolate" and situating their identity in between "white" and "black," these scholars assume that race is a fixed, measureable fact and that racial purity is implicit in "white" and "black" identities. cf. David Wilkins, "Racial Identity and the Federal Recognition Process: A Case Study of the Lumbee Indians" (paper presented at "Eating Out of the Same Pot": Relating Black and Indian (Hi)stories, Dartmouth College, April, 2000, Hanover, NH).

absence of such racial hierarchies. Ancestors of the Lumbee underwent a kind of ethnogenesis soon after the arrival of the Spanish and the onset of disease in the Southeast; it was between this time and 1835 that pre-racial identities may have existed.<sup>12</sup> Lumbees did not immediately abandon those pre-racial ideas about their identity to adopt outsiders' notions. If Lumbees perpetuated "Indianness" only out of concern for the racial hierarchy, it follows that they would want to become "white" when they left Robeson.<sup>13</sup> The story of Bulloch County Croatans demonstrated that they did not attempt to become white when they left—instead, they chose to remain Indians. Such a history forces consideration of markers other than race when discussing the perpetuation of Lumbee identity.

Ties to a particular place have also been fundamental to discussions of Indian identity, especially among Lumbees in the twentieth century. The importance of Lumbees' unbroken ties to a particular place emerged after 1900 as swamp drainage brought about a dramatic loss in Indian-owned land in Robeson County. For Indians, land ownership in Robeson County represented ancestral ties, as well as a certain independence from the federal government, the racial hierarchy, and market capitalism. Ownership enabled Indians to define "homeland" not by a fixed place in the landscape, with visible boundaries, but rather by a community where Indian people lived and owned land. When Indians lost land, claiming unbroken, aboriginal ties to Robeson County became an important way to unite Indians and recover land in economically

---

<sup>12</sup> For the development of the racial hierarchy, see Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975), 316-319. The racial order created prior to the Civil War was revised again after the Compromise of 1877, as C. Vann Woodward details in *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), chps. 1 and 2. For a different view of the development of segregation, see Howard N. Rabinowitz, "From Exclusion to Segregation: Southern Race Relations, 1865-1890," *Journal of American History* 58 (September 1976), 325-50. For Lumbee ethnogenesis, see Gerald Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories: Race, Ethnicity, and Indian Identity in the Southern United States* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1993), chps. 10 and 11; Julian T. Pierce and Cynthia Hunt-Locklear, et. al., *The Lumbee Petition*, 3 vols. (Pembroke, NC: Lumbee River Legal Services, 1987), 3-22.

<sup>13</sup> Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 184.

deprived circumstances.<sup>14</sup> The Georgia migrants demonstrated that place itself did not make Croatans distinct—if it did, Croatans would have lost their identity as Indians when they left Robeson County. Their sense of group identity lay not in their claim to a particular place but in the process of inclusion and exclusion that occurs in any place, a process that is necessary to create Indian community. This process happened in the Indian-only institutions—a school, church, and cemetery—that they built in Georgia. In the shared landscape of both Robeson and Bulloch counties, exclusion was necessary to distinguish Indian places from non-Indian places. These institutions effectively perpetuated a sense of group distinctiveness, and helped Croatans maintain identity. Ancestral ties to a specific place made little difference in how they perpetuated a sense of themselves as a people.<sup>15</sup> That ancestral place, however, was not unimportant to Georgia Croatans. The persistence of Robeson County as “home,” a place of common origin and shared experience, testified to a relationship between the old place and the new place. Establishing Indian-only institutions reminiscent of “home” helped sustain Croatan identity.

“Race” and “place” were only of limited usefulness for Georgia Croatans trying to perpetuate a sense of themselves as a people. Their story reveals other markers of Indian identity: 1) kinship identification,<sup>16</sup> 2) control of labor,<sup>17</sup> and 3) the construction of social institutions

---

<sup>14</sup> Sider, 147-9, 151-3, 251; Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 163-7; Blu, “‘Where Do You Stay At?’ Home Place and Community Among the Lumbee,” in *Senses of Place*, ed. Steven Feld and Keith Basso (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1996), 216-7, 219, 222.

<sup>15</sup> For a description of the role of Lumbee places, see Blu, “‘Where Do You Stay At?’,” 202-3, 214, 233.

<sup>16</sup> Joane Nagel refers to this as “sub-tribal identification (kin, clan, traditional)” one among several levels of identification for American Indian groups. Nagel, *American Indian Ethnic Renewal*, 21.

<sup>17</sup> Anthony Paredes describes the maintenance of Indian identity in the Southeast as a function of how well an Indian communities’ social life can be congruent with its economy—Indian ownership of economic resources such as labor, then, contributes to social cohesion and the perpetuation of a distinctive “Indianness.” J. Anthony Paredes, “Paradoxes of Modernism and Indianness in the Southeast,” *American Indian Quarterly* 19 (Summer 1995), 342. This belies historians’ conventional notions of economic “primitivism” in the midst of European market rationality as a marker of authentic Indianness; see Christopher L. Miller and George R. Hamell, “A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact,” in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian removal, 1500-1850*, ed. Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell (New York: Routledge, 2000), 178.



independent of place that facilitate exchange between dispersed Croatan communities.<sup>18</sup> Kin relations have been significant markers of Indian identity for many scholars, but economics and the development of Indian-only social institutions have emerged fairly recently as ways for Indian groups to assert and sustain group identity.

Croatans followed non-Indian North Carolinians to southeastern Georgia to work in the naval stores industry.<sup>19</sup> Indian men and women learned turpentine skills in Robeson County, and they held nearly every occupation in Bulloch County's naval stores industry. Prior to the Civil War, North Carolina produced the highest quality and quantity of naval stores, but in the 1880s manufacturers began leaving the state to search for virgin pine and higher profits. In 1880-81, North Carolina produced 62 percent of the United States' gum naval stores, and Georgia produced 24 percent. Within ten years, however, output reversed: North Carolina produced 40 percent, and Georgia became the leading producer in the South with 52 percent.<sup>20</sup> Bulloch County's newspapers reported the leading turpentine manufacturers' connections to North Carolina—the society pages detailed when these elite men and their wives returned to North

---

<sup>18</sup> This is described by Lucy R. Lippard as "multicenteredness," where a community develops a reciprocal relationship between a home community and another place that is significant to that community. Lucy R. Lippard, *The Lure of the Local: Senses of Place in a Multicentered Society* (New York: The New Press, 1997), 20.

<sup>19</sup> Naval stores, the materials used to construct wooden sailing vessels, included products such as turpentine, pitch, tar and rosin, all manufactured from the gum of longleaf and slash pine trees. See Carol B. Butler, *Treasures of the Longleaf Pines: Naval Stores* (Shalimar, FL: Tarkel Publishing, 1998), 12. For more information on specific naval stores manufacturers and other laborers who moved from North Carolina to Georgia, see Dorothy Brannen, "The Early Days of the Naval Stores and Lumber Industries in Bulloch County," in *Life in Old Bulloch: The Story of a Wiregrass County in Georgia, 1796-1940* (Statesboro, Ga: Statesboro Regional Library, 1992), 93-103; also see Mark V. Wetherington, *The New South Comes to Wiregrass Georgia, 1860-1910* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 117-9.

<sup>20</sup> Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr., *McCranie's Turpentine Still, Atkinson County, GA* (Athens, GA: Institute of Community and Area Development, 1975), F-5; Butler, 72. See also Robert B. Outland, III, "Slavery, Work, and the Geography of the North Carolina Naval Stores Industry, 1835-1860," *Journal of Southern History* 62 (1996), 27-56; Percival Perry, "The Naval Stores Industry in the Old South, 1790-1860," *Journal of Southern History* 34 (1968), 509-26; Thomas Armstrong, "The Transformation of Work: Turpentine Workers in Coastal Georgia, 1865-1901," *Labor History* 25 (1984): 522; Robert B. Outland, III, "Another New South: Patterns of Continuity in the Southern Naval Stores Industry" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1999), chps. 4 and 5. The destructive techniques used to gather gum depleted many pine trees in six or seven years, prompting the industry's migration southward from North Carolina. A tree produced the clearest, highest-grade naval stores in the first year it was boxed; manufacturers

Carolina for family reunions and when North Carolina relatives visited them. Georgia naval stores manufacturers were particularly well-connected to southeastern North Carolina, the home of the Croatans; many hailed from Cumberland, New Hanover, Bladen, and Robeson Counties.<sup>21</sup>

Bulloch County's earliest reference to their new Indian immigrants described Croatan families. In 1890, the local paper identified a group of Croatans working for Graham McKinnon and Sion A. Alford. McKinnon and Alford may have been from Robeson County and brought Croatan laborers with them to Bulloch County.<sup>22</sup> The article described the Croatans as "about the color of Indians, and the women and children who are not exposed much to the sun are real bright in color. The men and women have straight hair, and are intelligent people." Croatans, the author wrote, "are said to be honest and industrious. They stick to each other, and don't mix much with the negro....they are a distinct race in North Carolina, where their homes are, and are supposed to be a mixture of Indian and Portuguese."<sup>23</sup>

---

were paid the most for the highest-grade products, and so consistently sought out virgin forest. It was not uncommon before 1900 for operators to abandon a boxed timber tract after only three to six years. See Butler 63.

<sup>21</sup> *Bulloch Herald*, 22 June 1899; 19 Jan. 1900; 25 July 1902; *Bulloch Times*, 19 Aug. 1908; *Statesboro Eagle*, 18 Dec. 1890, 25 Dec. 1890; *Memoirs of Georgia* (Atlanta: The Southern Historical Association, 1895), 362; Robert Scott Davis, *A History of Montgomery County, Georgia to 1918* (Roswell, Ga: WH Wolfe Associates, 1992), 375-6. The 1900 census also lists several naval stores manufacturers, including one that Croatans apparently worked for, as being from North Carolina. See F.P. Register and W.W. McDougald, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Bulloch County, Georgia, Manuscript Census Population Schedule (Unpublished), 1900. Hereafter cited as Bulloch County, Georgia Census, 1900.

<sup>22</sup> McKinnon is listed as a charter member of Mt. Zion Presbyterian church in Bulloch County. Their original membership list identifies his homeplace as Ashpole, NC, a town in Robeson County. See Virginia W. Russell, *A Century of Presbyterianism in Bulloch County* (Statesboro, GA: First Presbyterian Church, 1991), 202. Sion A. Alford's connection to Robeson County is less certain, but a 1794 Robeson County will names Sion Alford as a child of Jacob Alford. This Sion Alford may have been the grandfather (or other relative) of Bulloch County's Sion A. Alford. See Fred A. Olds, *An Abstract of North Carolina Wills from about 1760 to about 1800* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1972), 266. Also, there is a township in Robeson called "Alfordsville," and the 1880 Robeson County Census lists a 17-year old Sion A. Alford living in that district. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Robeson County, NC, Manuscript Census Population Schedule (Unpublished), 1880, hereafter referred to as Robeson County, NC Census, Burnt Swamp Township, 1880. Indians' experience in turpentine work is demonstrated by the existence of several turpentine operations in the Moss Neck and Red Banks areas of Robeson County, sections that were also heavily populated by Indians. Census records in these areas also list "turpentine laborer" as the occupation of numerous Indians. D.P. McEachern, ed., *All About Robeson County* (Lumberton, NC: W.W. McDiarmid, 1884), 7, and Robeson County, NC Census, Burnt Swamp Township, 1880.

<sup>23</sup> *Statesboro Eagle*, 25 Dec. 1890.



While whites distinguished Indians from blacks racially, Croatans separated themselves from both whites and blacks based on kinship, not race.<sup>24</sup> The perpetuation of kinship networks enabled Croatans to maintain their group identity. The presence of families at McKinnon and Alford's operation was not a common characteristic of turpentine camps as historians have described them, or as the 1900 census data demonstrates.<sup>25</sup> In 1900, children comprised 33 percent of the Indian population, compared to 26 percent for both the white and black populations (see Table 1).<sup>26</sup> In 1900, a higher proportion of Indian than black turpentine workers were married, and in fact, most Indians had at least three children.<sup>27</sup>

Croatan families in turpentine camps contrasted sharply with the experience of black turpentiners. Previous scholarship has described turpentine laborers as primarily single black men who migrated with the industry. While some black families resided in the turpentine camps the overwhelming majority of Bulloch County's black turpentine laborers were single and lived in independent households or households headed by one male and three or four male boarders.<sup>28</sup> Black turpentiners who chose to settle in southeast Georgia often married local Georgians, but both spouses in Indian households were typically from North Carolina: 64 percent of Indian

---

<sup>24</sup> c.f. Sider, Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, and Pierce, et. al. These scholars do not explicitly address the difference between race and kinship for the Lumbee, but they describe how it is Lumbee kin networks, which are not circumscribed by race, that define the Lumbee community. Other studies of Southeastern Indians have reached similar conclusions about the way that tribes have approached race and kinship. See James Taylor Carson, *Searching for the Bright Path: The Mississippi Choctaws from Prehistory to Removal* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 1999) and Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1979).

<sup>25</sup> The 1890 census is not available, due to destruction by fire. I am thus making some assumptions about Indian families in the 1890s based on these figures, but the differences between Indian and white and black families are large enough that it seems plausible that the development of Indian families would have begun in the 1890s.

<sup>26</sup> I am defining "children" as males and females whom the census taker listed as having no occupation, and who were clearly not spouses; it does not include those listed as "At School," because the age range of students seems too great to definitively call them children.

<sup>27</sup> Bulloch County, Georgia Census, 1900.

<sup>28</sup> Armstrong, "Georgia Lumber Laborers," 439, 445; Armstrong, "Transformation," 529, 531; Robert B. Outland, III, "Slavery, Work and the Geography," 46; Wetherington, 119. Bulloch County, Georgia Census, 1900.

females and males with no occupation were born in North Carolina (see Table 1).<sup>29</sup> Indians married other Indians, suggesting that they wanted to stay connected to North Carolina and to their Indian identity.

Marriage to other Indians was important in the Croatan community because of what it signified for kinship relations and the maintenance of community. Each Croatan spouse was obligated to a host of Robeson County kin. Croatan marriage represented an alliance of families that ensured the continuance of inherited first and last names, an important marker of Indian identity to outsiders, as well as occupations, talents, and community roles. Croatans' large, fluid families with strong bonds between grandparents and grandchildren offered social stability and economic flexibility. Migrating families refused to relinquish their attachments to extended family in Robeson County because such a loss threatened a family facing an uncertain economic future in a new place. By contrast, young single men dominated the black turpentine labor force. Croatans probably moved in families in order to better maintain Indian identity in the new place; staying connected to home through family was a way to replicate the social landscape they had known in Robeson County.<sup>30</sup>

Some Indians brought their spouses and families with them to Georgia, but others maintained connections by moving back and forth seasonally. They used turpentine labor as temporary employment to improve their economic situation at home. Steve Maynor, an Indian from Robeson County, is one example. He married Magnolia Bullard in Bulloch County in

---

<sup>29</sup> State of Georgia, Bulloch County, Georgia Marriages, Colored and White (Unpublished), 1892-1898, 38, 349, 411, 529. Hereafter cited as Bulloch County, Georgia Marriages. Thomas Armstrong indicates that towards 1900, migration of black turpentine laborers decreased in Georgia overall; these laborers settled down by marrying Georgia women; Croatan laborers continued to marry Croatan women, not Georgians. See Armstrong, "Transformation," 525.

<sup>30</sup> For a description of Lumbee family patterns, see Blu, "'Where Do You Stay At?'" 206-7, and Pierce, et. al., 159-165. These observations are echoed about Croatan ancestors in John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina* (London: n.p., 1709).

1893.<sup>31</sup> In 1894, Steve owned no property and paid one dollar in poll tax in the Sinkhole District in Bulloch County, where several other Indians lived.<sup>32</sup> After 1894, Steve disappeared from the documentary record, suggesting that Steve and Magnolia met in Bulloch County and left after 1894. In fact, Steve and Magnolia were both Indians and met in Robeson County where Steve worked for Magnolia's father as a plowboy. Steve left Robeson County about 1892 hoping to escape a threat from Magnolia's father. Magnolia loved Steve and followed him to Georgia, where they married. She then returned home and set up house in Robeson County, a newly married and pregnant woman. Steve, meanwhile, worked in Georgia another year and then returned to North Carolina with money to support his family.<sup>33</sup>

This story illustrates the significance of Croatans' connection to home for their identity, and it adds a dimension to Croatan migration—not only did his connection to home preserve Steve's Indian identity in the new place, it strengthened identity in the old place. For these two, Bulloch County was a refuge from trouble, where they salvaged their relationship and amassed a nest egg with which to build a home in North Carolina. Other Indians already residing in the Sinkhole District probably recruited Steve. This social network made Sinkhole a comfortable place for Magnolia to come to beyond the reach of her father, where she and Steve could marry among friends. Money that Steve made in Bulloch County ensured a more comfortable life in Robeson County. Robeson County was the couple's constant reference point and their social network allowed them to perpetuate their Indian identity in Georgia.

---

<sup>31</sup> Bulloch County, Georgia Marriages, 38.

<sup>32</sup> State of Georgia, Bulloch County, White and Colored Tax Digests (Unpublished), 1894. Hereafter cited as Bulloch County, Georgia White and Colored Tax Digests, (date).

<sup>33</sup> Waltz Maynor, interview by author, Durham, NC, 23 March 2001.



In 1897, Sarah Oxendine wrote her brother, Daniel Webster Oxendine, a plaintive letter. He was in Bulloch County working in turpentine.<sup>34</sup> She told him that the whole family was sick and that some of their Robeson County neighbors had died. “[Y]ou cum home,” she wrote. “You can get work to do here and we will be together in our trubels and that will be a cumfret to us[.]” She asked him, as well as “Edy” and “Exey Ann,” perhaps other relatives, to send money and to do it “rite at once.” If he did not return, “som of us you will never see in this world and I am sorry you went to GA [Georgia].”<sup>35</sup> She sounded desperate—her detailed report of the family’s sickness, the news of the neighbors’ deaths, her repeated appeals to her brother to return home, and her requests for money, not only from him but from others, indicated her fear that her own life and that of her whole community were falling apart. Her survival depended upon her brother’s connection to his home.

Polie Lowery wrote a spirited letter to her father in Robeson County that offered a wholly different view, but reinforced Croatans’ reliance upon their Robeson County connections. While Sarah Oxendine suggested that the homeplace was falling apart, Polie Lowery regarded her new home—Powell Turpentine camp—as full of possibilities. After she arrived in Georgia in 1900, she wrote cheerfully, “I got hear Safe....Send Me word if mamma is got Satisfide yet[.] Send me word How all of the folks is[.]” She continued, “Eliz[abeth?] Sayed To tell Fletcher that He can Git a plenty of Boxes Puling or chiping....Theair is Plenty of Hausen [housing].”<sup>36</sup> Her strong connection to her family led her to recruit another neighbor or relation—Fletcher—to join her and Elizabeth in Georgia. There were plenty of turpentine “boxes,” she wrote, referring to the

---

<sup>34</sup> Bulloch County, Georgia Census, 1900.

<sup>35</sup> Sarah C. Oxendine to D.W. Oxendine, Buies, NC, 15 February 1897, Bruce Barton, “The Migration of NC Indians to Claxton/Adabelle, Ga area,” typescript, Indian Education Resource Center, Pembroke, NC, 88-9. Hereafter cited as Barton. In this and the following letter, I leave in the writer’s spelling and grammatical errors, except where spelling corrections need to be made to clarify meaning. Punctuation is added where indicated, and capitalization changes follow punctuation marks.

receptacles that collected the pine tree gum that they distilled into turpentine. Fletcher could “pull” or “chip,” two low-skill occupations on turpentine farms, and the plentiful camp housing made Georgia’s longleaf pine forests a potentially attractive escape from a household where “Mamma” was never “Satisfide.” Polie ended by asking her father to “write soon and fail not to.” Polie’s survival perhaps depended upon her ability to leave home, but it also rested on her connections to home. Both letters reveal reasons that people from Robeson County migrated to Georgia—hard economic times, a difficult relationship—but both writers wanted to keep the bonds to family and home strong.<sup>37</sup>

The families of Steve Maynor, Daniel Webster Oxendine and Polie Lowery found various ways to keep their connections to Robeson County, whether through sending money home that they earned, recruiting family and friends to join them, or physically moving with spouses and children to their new place. Kinship bound these individuals to a larger community that they desired to re-create in their new place.

At first, Indians did not move to Bulloch County and settle together in one place.<sup>38</sup>

Within the county, mobility appeared quite high in the early years of migration. During the

---

<sup>36</sup> Polie Lowery to Alvie Oxendine, Rayes Mills, GA, 27 January 1900, in Barton, 82.

<sup>37</sup> Anthropologist Abraham Makofsky indicates that these motivations may have been the same for Indians after World War II, when an even larger migration to Baltimore, MD occurred. See Abraham Makofsky, “Tradition and Change in the Lumbee Indian Community of Baltimore” (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1971), 44, 47.

<sup>38</sup> Connections to home and the uniqueness of some surnames provide clues to the identity of Indians in Bulloch County, but public records did not identify Indians as such. Instead, official observers grouped them either with whites or blacks. Combining surnames and state of origin with tax, census, and court records help identify Indians. While these factors do not add up to “Indian identity,” patterns emerge to indicate that Indians exhibited similar economic or social behaviors during this period and behaved unlike whites and blacks. Comparing “Indian” data to “black” data is particularly useful, because these two groups shared certain economic and social conditions. The census bureau did not allow racial self-identification until 1960; prior to that, the enumerator classed individuals according to locally-determined racial categories. See Nagel, “American Indian Ethnic Renewal,” 950. Indian surnames included in this paper’s census and tax analysis were the following: Bell, Blue, Brayboy, Bullard, Cummings, Emanuel, Goins, Hammonds (Hammons), Jacobs (Jacob), Jones, Locklear (Locklea, Lockley, Lockly, Lockleah, Lochlea, Lochliar, Lachley), Maynor (Manor), Oxendine, Revels, Ransom, and Strickland. Individuals with these surnames were variously identified as “Black” or “White” in the 1900 census, and “Black,” “White,”



1890s, a few Indians paid taxes year after year in the same district, but the vast majority moved from district to district or their names only appeared once and not again for several years.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, few blacks and no identifiable Indians owned more than five or ten dollars worth of household furniture during the 1890s. Low property ownership tended to characterize both Indians and blacks, whereas only a relatively small proportion of whites owned no property in this period.<sup>40</sup> Turpentine laborers moved so frequently that acquiring property must have been virtually impossible. Between 1900 and 1910, however, the critical years of economic change in Bulloch County, Indians began to settle in one area—the Sinkhole—and formed a community expressed in their occupations and social institutions.

Bulloch County's economic climate shifted about this time. Georgia's naval stores production peaked in the 1890s, and manufacturers began to search for virgin pine elsewhere in the Southeast. In 1899, manufacturers were elated by "what they saw in the way of turpentine and timber prospects" in Florida and reported that they "may invest some money down that way."<sup>41</sup> One company moved to Alabama, taking with it black laborers who were in debt to their employer "in various amounts aggregating about \$200, and attachments were taken out on the negroes' furniture to collect these amounts."<sup>42</sup> For black turpentiners, unlike many of their Indian counterparts, their status and their futures were defined by the fortunes of the turpentine industry.

Economic activities contributed to racial designations in the minds of non-Indians, and the disassociation of Croatans from the turpentine industry made race appear less of a rigid category and more fluid. E.J. Emanuel, for example, worked as a woods rider, a skilled and high-

---

"Mulatto," or "Indian" in the 1910 census. All heads of household and spouses identified North Carolina as their state of origin.

<sup>39</sup> Bulloch County, Georgia White and Colored Tax Digests, 1891-1901.

<sup>40</sup> Bulloch County, Georgia White and Colored Tax Digests, 1891-1901.

<sup>41</sup> *Bulloch Herald*, 27 July 1899.

<sup>42</sup> *Bulloch Herald*, 7 Sept. 1899, 10 Nov. 1899 (quote); *Statesboro Star*, 13 Dec. 1899.

status occupation usually reserved for whites.<sup>43</sup> Between 1898 and 1905 the tax returns listed this Croatian man as Colored. From 1898-1900, he owned no property. The 1900 Census listed him as white. In 1901 he acquired \$7 worth of furniture and \$8 worth of livestock. In 1904, he moved to the Sinkhole District and bought more property: \$15 in furniture, \$3 in livestock, \$10 in tools, and \$4 in other property. In 1905, he apparently sold everything except his furniture, which had increased to \$50 in value. In 1909, Emanuel, listed as a white taxpayer, owned \$45 worth of furniture and \$150 in livestock. In 1910, the census listed him as a mulatto farmer.<sup>44</sup> On tax records, Emanuel was "Colored" when he worked in turpentine and owned little or no property; in the census, his occupation may have encouraged the enumerator to list him as "white." But by 1910, a "mulatto" racial category had emerged for Croatians, and he became "mulatto" as he moved up the economic ladder to farming (see Table 2).

Emanuel's various designations reveal that the relationship of the Croatians to other races in the county was an important element in their community development and that racial identity fluctuated according to economic and social status. Like other Croatians, E.J. Emanuel, a skilled turpentine worker, did not use his potential ability to "pass" as white to migrate with the industry when it left Bulloch County. He may have believed that Bulloch County promised other economic opportunities and that the racial climate did not present impediments to his continued identity as an Indian. If the economic climate provided him with an opportunity to live in an Indian community as an Indian, Emanuel chose that life rather than life as a "white" man apart

---

<sup>43</sup> It is possible to identify Emanuel as an Indian, despite his census and tax designation, because his descendants returned to Robeson County in 1920, resided in the Indian community of Saddletree, and continued to identify themselves as Indians. See "Whatever Happened to...Lottie Emanuel Chavis," *Carolina Indian Voice*, 31 Jan. 1991.

<sup>44</sup> Bulloch County, Georgia Census, 1900; Bulloch County, Georgia White and Colored Tax Digests, 1898-1909; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Bulloch County, Georgia, Manuscript Census Population Schedule (Unpublished), 1910. Hereafter cited as Bulloch County, Georgia Census, 1910. In 1916, E.J. Emanuel owed rent to the Adabelle Trading Company. See Bulloch County, Georgia, Superior Court Minutes, 1912-1919 (Unpublished), 270, 272, 273, 430, 546. Hereafter cited as Bulloch County, Georgia Superior Court Minutes, 1912-1919.

from his community. Croatans sustained identity by exploiting more than their racial ambiguity—the county's transition from turpentine to cotton gave them an opportunity to control their own economic resources and build their community.

Between 1898 and 1905, agriculture began to shape the county's social, economic and political life. The transition from naval stores to agriculture was slow and uneven. Both turpentine and cotton flourished in the first years of the twentieth century, but by 1905, cotton absorbed the attention of most Bulloch County residents. Croatans resisted migrating with the turpentine industry and stayed to become tenant farmers with the Adabelle Trading Company, a prominent merchandising, cotton, and naval stores operation. Tenancy with this company gave Croatans an opportunity to maintain their internal social networks and control their own labor, their main economic resource.

The Adabelle Trading Company began as the Foy & Williams company. Foy & Williams exemplified Bulloch County's economic transition and provided Croatans with a place to take advantage of economic change and racial ambiguity to assert a community identity. McKinnon and Alford's 1890 Croatan laborers may have joined Foy & Williams' workforce as early as 1895, when Graham McKinnon apparently sold his turpentine still and livestock and returned to Robeson County.<sup>45</sup> Croatans found relatively stable employment with Foy & Williams.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup> Advertisement for broke mules from McLeod & McKinnon in the *Bulloch Times*, 30 Jan. 1895. McKinnon's return to North Carolina is indicated by a newspaper item, *Bulloch Times*, 22 June 1899: "Mrs. Graham McKinnon, after spending several weeks with her sister, Mrs. H.I. Olliff, at this place, returned last Thursday to her home in Rowland, N.C." Rowland is located in Robeson County. McKinnon's brother-in-law, H.I. Olliff, was probably related to W.M. Foy's wife, Maxie P. Olliff. In 1895, Washington Manassas Foy purchased or leased the Carr Brothers' turpentine operation in the Sinkhole District. The Carr Brothers had come to Bulloch from Wilmington, North Carolina, sometime before 1890 and were close associates of Graham McKinnon, whom they joined in founding Bulloch's Mt. Zion Presbyterian Church in 1891. Foy & Williams probably bought or leased the land and assets of both Carr and McKinnon's companies and acquired the workers as well. For the relationship between McKinnon, the Carr Brothers, and W.M. Foy, see Dorothy Durrence Simmons, *A History of Evans County* (Privately published, 1999), 217. For the association between the Carrs and McKinnon, see Brannen, "The Early Days," 99. Also see note 22. The Carr Brothers maintained their assets through 1897, but they are listed as having no employees after 1895, indicating that rather than Foy buying the Carr Brothers' distillery and farm, he leased their property starting in 1895. See also Bulloch County, Georgia White and Colored Tax Digests, 1891-1900.



Between 1900 and 1910, large numbers of Indians settled in the Sinkhole District near Foy & Williams' property. While 22 percent of the Indian population lived in Sinkhole in 1900, 80 percent lived there in 1910 (see Table 2).<sup>47</sup> The high number of Indians in these districts contrasts with the pattern in the 1890s when Indians engaged in turpentine production lived in various parts of the county. Croatans used Foy & Williams' prosperity to begin developing a separate community.

Foy & Williams represented the kind of "New South" enterprise that fostered an economy in which both whites and non-whites could participate. As outsiders to Bulloch County's black and white world, Croatans found a stable existence possible in this racially-

---

Leasing was fairly common practice among naval stores manufacturers and sawmillers; farmers leased their trees cheaply around the turn of the century, and Brannen hints that they had an incentive to kill the trees—the more trees that could be easily cut down, at someone else's expense, the more land that could be cleared for cotton production. Brannen, "The Early Days," 103. After the Carrs sold out to Foy, they moved to Mississippi to operate a turpentine still, distancing themselves from the North Carolina turpentiners. Nollie Hickman, *Mississippi Harvest: Lumbering in the Longleaf Pine Belt, 1840-1915* (University, MS: The University of Mississippi, 1962), 131-2.

<sup>46</sup> Bulloch County, Georgia, White and Colored Tax Digests, 1900-1902 and Bulloch County, Georgia Census, 1900 demonstrated Black out-migration. Debt peonage was a common feature of the turpentine industry; the isolation of the turpentine camp made laborers dependent upon the manufacturer for food, clothing and supplies sold at the camp commissary. Laborers accumulated debts and were required to work them off, or have some of their property repossessed. Thus, when the manufacturer moved, indebted laborers had to move as well. Occasionally, a worker would be recruited by another operator who would pay off his debt. The realities of debt peonage have led some scholars to compare turpentine work to sharecropping and see it as a continuance of slavery in the South. See Gay Goodman Wright, "Turpentine: An Ethnohistorical Study of a Southern Industry and Way of Life" (M.A. thesis, University of Georgia, 1979), 80-85. See also Pete Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901-1969* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 36-40; Butler, 136-7; Outland, "Another New South," 296-8.

Foy & Williams were fully engaged with the transition to cotton agriculture in Bulloch County, but they kept their turpentine production up as well, indicating perhaps that their business was large and profitable enough to withstand some of the instability that struck other naval stores manufacturers at this time. They chartered the Adabelle Trading Company in 1902, for the purpose of naval stores, sawmilling and cotton production. The *Statesboro News* refers to Foy as "the largest farmer in Southeast Georgia" in 1902; he employed 125 people and owned 20,000 acres of land in Bulloch, Tattnall and Candler counties. The success of his business is also reflected in the large estate he left when he died in 1903. Croatan laborers may have taken advantage of the stability that Foy's success offered. Bulloch County, Georgia Superior Court Minutes (Unpublished), 1901-1904, 50-51, hereafter cited as Bulloch County, Georgia Superior Court Minutes, 1901-1904; *Bulloch Herald*, 31 Aug. 1900; *Statesboro News*, 29 Aug. 1902; Bulloch County, Georgia Superior Court Inventories, Appraisements and Sales (Unpublished), 1889-1918, 551.

<sup>47</sup> Tax records lend more support to the developing Croatan community. Few Indians appear year after year in the same districts in the 1890s, but Indians seemed to settle down after 1900. E.J. Emanuel, I.D. Emanuel, Ashley Jacobs, S.A. Hammonds, Daniel Brayboy, A.T. Taylor, S.M. Manor (or Maynor), Beasley Bullard and others reliably appeared in the records in the Sinkhole district, where Adabelle was located. The 1900 census listed some of

mixed social and economic place.<sup>48</sup> Foy & Williams produced not only naval stores from the remaining pine forest, but they rented land to tenants and operated a general store, post office, cotton gin, sawmill, grist mill, and livestock business.<sup>49</sup> A 1901 advertisement read:

Right Goods, At Right Prices, is what everybody wants.  
We Have Them.

On account of running a mercantile business in connection with our naval stores firm, we are enabled to buy goods in large quantities, thereby securing better prices. A large force in the way of teams, salesmen, etc., is necessary in the carrying on of the turpentine business. Therefore we are enabled to handle the stock of merchandise at little or no additional expense, and we have decided to give our customers the benefit of this saving. We now have an experienced business man in charge of our store who is in a position to handle your business in a manner which we will assure you to be satisfactory.

Call on us and be convinced that we can save you money on any goods usually kept in a general store.

Foy & Williams,  
Adabelle, GA.<sup>50</sup>

Foy & Williams employed a simple strategy to draw customers to its business—the “right goods” available to “everybody,” with a progressive, common-sense explanation of their business practices. Throughout the South, general stores depended upon white and non-white customers; although whites excluded them from politics, non-whites could participate in the economy by taking advantage of the conveniences that the general store offered. Croatans,

---

these men with wives and children in Sinkhole as well. See Bulloch County, Georgia White and Colored Tax Digests, 1900-1905; Bulloch County Census, 1900.

<sup>48</sup> See Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (New York: Vintage, 1999), 168-179 for the role of the general store in Southern life.

<sup>49</sup> Bulloch County Superior Court Minutes, 1901-1904, 50-51; Application for United States Post Office at Foy, GA (later to become Adabelle), 1899 (Dorothy Durrence Simmons papers, private collection). At W.M. Foy's death in 1903, his lands in Bulloch and Tattnall counties contained “forty plows under some seventeen different managements” (see Bulloch County, Georgia Superior Court Minutes, 1901-1904, 383). We do not know the names of these tenants at this time, but a decade later, Foy's former lands were being farmed by blacks, whites and Indians (see Bulloch County, Georgia Superior Court Minutes, 1912-1919, 273).

<sup>50</sup> *Statesboro News*, 22 March 1901.



misfits in Bulloch County in so many ways, found a relatively comfortable place in an economy driven by large companies like Foy & Williams. As the county's dominant industry changed from turpentine to cotton and merchandising, Croatans used the racially-mixed marketplace to begin developing their own community. Rather than move with the turpentine industry, they stayed to develop a "people" in a new place, and create social institutions that marked a distinctive Indian community. Sometime between 1900 and 1909, Croatans literally planted their community by establishing a cemetery on Foy & Williams' property.<sup>51</sup>

Male and female occupational roles mirrored the changes in Bulloch County's economic life. While black and white women increasingly went to work after 1900, the percentage of Croatan women who worked remained stable (see Table 3). Further, Croatans had the lowest percentage of female workers of any race in the county in both years. Indian women may have chosen to fulfill more domestic, community-building roles after turpentine left the county in contrast to their black and white neighbors who used cotton's prosperity as an opportunity to gain more income for their families by working outside the home as farm laborers or semi-skilled domestic help. Correspondingly, the numbers of Croatan children born in Georgia *increased dramatically after 1900*, whereas the white and black native-born population stayed roughly the same. Croatan women had more children and increased the number of kin perhaps because of their desire to construct a community based on the county's new economy, which made a settled existence possible. In any event, Croatan women made a distinctly different choice from white and black women.

---

<sup>51</sup> See Barton, 7-9; Bruce Barton, interview with author, Pembroke, NC, 9 Feb. 2001; Barbara Braveboy-Locklear, telephone conversation with author, 23 Jan. 2001; Dorothy Durrence Simmons, interview with author, Adabelle, GA, March 14, 2001. Also see Map of Adabelle Trading Company lands, 1909 (Dorothy Durrence Simmons papers).

Croatan men also changed occupations according to the county's economic transition (see Table 3). In 1900, just prior to the departure of turpentine from the county, turpentine labor occupied the vast majority of both Croatan and black men. By 1910, however, most Croatan and black men worked in farming, either as tenant farmers or sharecroppers; only a few remained in the county's small turpentine industry, probably working for the Adabelle Trading Company.<sup>52</sup> The growth of Croatan farmers compared to black farmers does not appear significant on the surface, but tax data shows an important difference. After turpentine left, much of the county's black male population left with it. Bulloch County's non-white adult male population dropped 35 percent between 1902 and 1903, due to the exodus of turpentine laborers.<sup>53</sup> This data suggests that by 1910, comparatively more blacks than Indians worked in turpentine; perhaps Indian men chose to switch to farming because of their wives' desire to develop a settled community. Indian women understood the cotton boom's potential prosperity and may have encouraged their Indian husbands and brothers to get out of turpentine.

Men and women of all races found alternate means of subsistence after turpentine's departure but the Croatans' transition to farming did not translate into an increase in land purchases as it did with whites and blacks. Tax data shows "Colored" landownership to be on the rise through the first decade of the 1900s. Between 1895 and 1905, however, only a few Indians acquired furniture and livestock, the vast majority owning no property at all.<sup>54</sup> While there were

---

<sup>52</sup> See note 49.

<sup>53</sup> Bulloch County, Georgia White and Colored Tax Digests, 1895-1905. Colored poll-tax payers in 1902 numbered 1,855; Colored poll-tax payers in 1903 numbered 1,202.

<sup>54</sup> Bulloch County, Georgia White and Colored Tax Digests, 1895-1901, 1903-1905. One land-owning Indian was W.R. Lockley, who paid taxes in the Sinkhole district in 1903 on 300 acres of land; by 1904, however, he was listed as owning no land at all. It seems unlikely that he would have gained and lost such a quantity of land in such a short time, leading me to believe that I made an error in reading the tax digest. Ashley Jacobs, another Indian, owned land closer to Claxton, GA, about eight miles south of Adabelle, in an adjoining county. See Barton, 158-74. Current research in the Bulloch County Deed and Mortgage indexes shows no evidence of Indian landownership. See Bulloch County, Georgia General Index to Mortgages, 1895-1911; Bulloch County, Georgia Deed Index, Books 4-5, 1895-1911.



one or two Indian landowners in the region, Indians by 1910 farmed rented land or worked as farm laborers, possibly for the Adabelle Trading Company.<sup>55</sup> Renting, rather than owning, indicates the Bulloch County Croatans were not intent on establishing firm roots in the county, but neither did they want to move on with the turpentine industry, as many blacks did. Instead, they may have seen renting land and farming cotton as a way to provide their increasing numbers of children with a kin-based, agricultural community similar to what they had known in Robeson County.

Blacks did not always simply “choose” to move on with turpentine or stay to farm cotton; wider social forces had an important impact on their economic choices, just as they impacted Croatan choices. In parts of southern Georgia, local white racial attitudes “could limit or enhance blacks’ opportunity to buy property,” according to sociologist Peggy Hargis.<sup>56</sup> The intervention of the local white community in the form of anti-black violence, debt peonage, disfranchisement, and competition affected black landownership. Southeast Georgia residents excluded blacks from economic opportunity, hoping to open the cotton economy to white yeoman farmers.<sup>57</sup> In 1899, the *Bulloch Herald* reported an unwelcome presence of black laborers in Statesboro: “...there are too many negro quarters in this town,” one reporter wrote, “and they continue to spring up. There are now not less than ten, and there is talk of establishing others right in among

---

<sup>55</sup> While the only evidence for Indians being employed by the Adabelle Trading Company between 1900 and 1910 is found in Indians’ large presence in the Sinkhole District, court records concerning the receivership of the company document rent and other debts owed by Indians to the company. From this we can infer that Indians were tenants or employees after 1910. Bulloch County, Georgia Superior Court Minutes, 1912-1919, 270, 272-3, 430, 546. There is also a reference to North Carolina-born turpentine workers at Foy’s still in the Manassas, Georgia area as early as 1898—it is unclear whether or not these workers were Croatans. See Gail Whalen, “Draft Historical Narrative for the Manassas National Register Historic District Nomination, 1995” (Altamaha Georgia Southern Regional Development Commission, Baxley, Georgia, photocopy), 9.

<sup>56</sup> Peggy Hargis, “Beyond the Marginality Thesis: The Acquisition and Loss of Land by African Americans in Georgia, 1880-1930,” *Agricultural History* 72 (Spring 1998), 243.

<sup>57</sup> Wetherington, 119, 163-5. In neighboring Tattnall County, “nightriders” threatened to burn black-owned cotton gins if “a bale of cotton be ginned before the cotton has reached 12 cents.” A month later, the *The Tattnall Journal*



the white residents of the town.”<sup>58</sup> In 1905, the *Bulloch Times* reported that Mr. Sutton, a local barber, fired his black barbers and hired “a new corps of competent white barbers” to take their places.<sup>59</sup> Firing black barbers indicated a major change in local racial dynamics, since before segregation, barbers in the South were primarily black. Whites were uncomfortable with a black population in the town of Statesboro where they could easily mix with whites. The town, an increasingly important center of commercial activity, drew blacks to it; town-dwelling whites, most likely the business leaders, discouraged more blacks from coming in.<sup>60</sup>

As cotton agriculture took over and the black population declined, reports of anti-black violence increased. White Bulloch Countians burned two black men at the stake in 1904; the men reportedly murdered a white family and participated in a “Before Day Club,” an insurrectionary movement that supposedly existed in several places throughout the South.<sup>61</sup> Lynchings and near-lynchings targeted blacks who allegedly broke into white homes or assaulted white women. According to one historian, anti-black violence represented a fear of racial mixing and a simultaneous assertion of racial dominance and privilege. Whites used lynching to invade the black community and to show blacks that separation and subjugation was the only option.<sup>62</sup>

While white hostility may not have limited Indians’ opportunity, Indians did not choose to invest their earnings in Bulloch County soil.<sup>63</sup> Rather, they invested in their connections to

---

reported that thirteen black schools and churches had been burned in Calhoun, Miller, and Baker Counties. Whalen, 23, quote from *The Tattnall Journal* 24 Sept. 1908.

<sup>58</sup> *Bulloch Herald*, 9 March 1899.

<sup>59</sup> *Bulloch Times*, 6 July 1905.

<sup>60</sup> Hale, 179-197. Historian Mark Wetherington indicates that rising racial tensions may have been an outgrowth of the “neo-plantation” style of cotton agriculture, rather than political concerns. For blacks who had emigrated to the county with the turpentine industry, renting or sharecropping was restrictive. Local whites saw these laborers as foreigners which contributed to a feeling of distrust. Mark Wetherington, electronic communication with author, 11 June 2001.

<sup>61</sup> Brannen, *Life in Old Bulloch*, 383-97.

<sup>62</sup> See Hale, Chapter 5.

<sup>63</sup> One revealing instance of violence was reported at Foy & Williams in 1901: “A Negro man killed a Negro boy out at Foy and Williams still last week. The boy was about sixteen years old, and it is said was a part Indian. And

Robeson County and in the growing Indian community around the Adabelle Trading Company. Renting prevented them from planting roots in Bulloch County and kept their connection to Robeson County possible. Land ownership was not necessary for community, as it had been in Robeson County. Furthermore, if identity rested in part in a Robeson County connection, as it had in the 1890s, land ownership implied severance with that community and jeopardized their identity as Indians in their new place.<sup>64</sup>

Croatans could perpetuate a group identity in Bulloch County because their white neighbors were ambivalent about them and demonstrated little interest in them. Racial status emerged as an important factor in Croatans' ability to negotiate their identity. The prosperity of cotton agriculture and companies like Foy & Williams also opened up an economic space within which Croatans could find a sense of community. Gradually, Indian strategies to enhance and protect their community identity began to center around social institutions that the cotton economy and their employment at the Adabelle Trading Company made possible. Croatans did not express their relationship to place through land ownership, but rather through the construction of educational and religious institutions that facilitated the social inclusion and exclusion necessary to create a distinctly Indian community. Croatans' use of these institutions helped mediate social change when their economic livelihood changed from longleaf pine forests to cotton fields.

Building religious and educational institutions led Croatans into an engagement with the racial categorization that began to dominate Bulloch County in the early twentieth century.

---

like other good Indians, he is now dead." *Statesboro News*, 24 May 1901. There is no evidence that the boy was a Croatan, and given the migratory nature of the turpentine industry, the boy could have been from anywhere. However, it seems likely that Croatans were identified as Indians by local Whites in this period, and this report reflects some racial assumptions that may have limited Croatan opportunity.

<sup>64</sup> For a study that reaches a similar conclusion, see John Scott Strickland, "Traditional Culture and Moral Economy: Social and Economic Change in the South Carolina Low Country, 1865-1910," in Donald G. Nieman,

During these early years of legal segregation, whites were not the only group assigning racial and social status—Croatans' own process of racial categorization produced a separate school and church in Adabelle. Croatans embraced segregationist ideology to protect their ethnic community identity. While a Croatan-only church and school may have looked like a black or white institution from the outside, from the perspective of those who constructed them, these institutions marked their section of Bulloch County as a distinctively Indian area and served to perpetuate a sense of Indian community. The church and school also helped maintain ties to Robeson County—preachers and teachers visited back and forth and they established a regular correspondence to keep Robeson Croatans informed. As social institutions independent of place, the Indian school and church linked Croatans' old and new homes and made it possible for them to maintain an Indian identity.

In 1909, an Indian preacher from Robeson County visited the Adabelle community. "The pine forests of Georgia," he reminded his readers, "induced many citizens to leave Robeson County several years ago, among these were many of the Indian race. While some have returned to their native country, large numbers remain abroad in various states. An occasional home-comer brings glorious reports of the absent ones." The preacher articulated the sense of place and attachment to community that Indians in Robeson felt—Indian people traveled from "their native country...abroad," beyond the community's borders and into foreign territory. He observed that the Bulloch County Croatans perpetuated this group cohesion. They had a small Indian church with eighteen members when he had held an eight-day revival and baptized fourteen new people.<sup>65</sup> The preacher's visit brought the total number of church "members"—that is, baptized Christians—up to thirty-two. In addition to these thirty-two baptized church members, the

---

ed., *From Slavery to Sharecropping: White Land and Black Labor in the Rural South, 1865-1900* (New York: Garland, 1994).



congregation included unbaptized family members. Actual church attendance and participation was probably between fifty and seventy people, a healthy size for an unaffiliated church.

Religious activities were similar to those in Robeson County and Protestant churches throughout the South. Croatan ministers preached every other week, baptized congregational members, organized a Sunday School, and held revivals.<sup>66</sup> The strength of this Indian institution reflected the community's cohesion.

By 1910, Croatans had opened a school on Adabelle Trading Company property.<sup>67</sup> One Indian resident of Bulloch County wrote to *The Robesonian*, Robeson County's newspaper, that the school and church were fully segregated, and that "They have from 6 to 7 months...of school during the year and I find the children seem to take a great interest in their school work."<sup>68</sup> The school offered a classical education, with debating societies, patriotic music, dialogues, and recitations, all supervised by Indian teachers from Robeson County. The school's principal, C.L. Oxendine, was also an Indian and closing ceremonies regularly featured Indian speakers, perhaps from North Carolina.<sup>69</sup> Other letters commented on the excellent attendance at the school and anticipated an increase in population, "which will afford more and better schools."<sup>70</sup> Letters to *The Robesonian* interspersed news of school and church events with obituaries and reports of relatives visiting from Robeson County.<sup>71</sup> They announced Sunday fish fries and celebrations at

---

<sup>65</sup> *The Robesonian*, 9 Sept. 1909.

<sup>66</sup> *The Robesonian*, 9 Sept. 1909; 26 Aug. 1912; 4 June 1914; 30 July 1914; 5 June 1916.

<sup>67</sup> There was some precedence for an association between turpentine work and Indian education in Robeson County. A cooperage in the Indian section of Prospect in Robeson County also allowed an Indian subscription school to meet there prior to the Civil War. James Moore, Interview with author, Pembroke, NC, 25 October 2001.

<sup>68</sup> *The Robesonian*, 3 Oct. 1910.

<sup>69</sup> *The Robesonian*, 5 June 1911; 15 June 1911; 4 May 1914; 4 June 1914; 25 June 1914; 6 July 1914.

<sup>70</sup> *The Robesonian*, 17 April 1913; 4 May 1914.

<sup>71</sup> *The Robesonian*, 25 June 1914; 30 July 1914; 22 March 1915; 13 May 1915; 27 June 1918.

the end of the school year.<sup>72</sup> Indian social life centered around the school and the church in Adabelle.

The social ramifications of Indian-only education, however, went much deeper than get-togethers among Indian people. Indian-only education marked the community's social boundary. Bulloch County appropriated no financial support for the school in its early years; Indians had to provide their own teacher salaries, materials, and building facilities.<sup>73</sup> In Robeson County Indian schools, which only received minimal state funding, the need to raise funds brought the community together and instituted local control. Croatans' active construction of their own schools in Robeson County suggests that Bulloch County Croatans employed a similar approach to education and social cohesion, but they may have relied more on local whites to facilitate their community.

Whites may not have been a daily presence, but they had an impact on the school. The Adabelle school occasionally welcomed non-Indians to attend its activities, and the white county school superintendent spoke at closing exercises on at least two occasions. Another letter-writer reported "white people present" at closing exercises, where the featured speaker was S.A. Hammonds, a Croatan.<sup>74</sup> On the whole, whites seemed uninvolved in the school's operations and were present only on public occasions but they eventually made the school viable financially. The County appropriated funds for a separate Indian school in 1914, and W.M. Foy's heirs

---

<sup>72</sup> *The Robesonian*, 26 August 1912; 6 July 1914.

<sup>73</sup> *Bulloch Times*, 16 April 1914. The County school board appropriated \$25 per month for the Adabelle Indian school starting in 1914, but other support may have been provided earlier. In 1911 a letter-writer commented, "... the county superintendent made arrangements for these people to have a public school." See *The Robesonian*, 15 June 1911.

<sup>74</sup> *The Robesonian*, 5 June 1911; 4 June 1914; 15 June 1911. Hammonds was a member of the Board of Trustees at the Croatan Normal School in Robeson County, suggesting that his trip to Adabelle may have been more than a casual visit—he may have been there to actively promote Indian-only education in Bulloch County. His trip further illuminates the intentional ways in which Indians pursued their education. See David K. Eliades and Linda Ellen Oxendine, *Pembroke State University: A Centennial History* (Columbus, GA: Brentwood University Press, 1986), 104.



apparently donated the land to the Adabelle Indian community for their church/school and cemetery.<sup>75</sup> Influential whites clearly saw the value and purpose of an Indian-only school and allowed it, rather than forcing Indian children to attend black schools, as local whites attempted to do in Robeson County until the mid-1880s.

Croatans did not just want education; they wanted Indian-*only* education. Indians' sense of themselves as a people made their own school a necessity, both in Bulloch and Robeson counties.<sup>76</sup> Indian-only education served the same purposes in both places—it allowed Indians to maintain control over their children's education and over who their community accepted as Indian. One Bulloch correspondent wrote: "While days of sunshine seem to flow we Indian people of Bulloch County, Ga., are trying to do a better work and a greater work, especially for the education of our children and bringing them up to a higher standard of life."<sup>77</sup> By invoking "we Indian people," the writer articulated the group's conscious community identification and intense focus on transmitting that identity to Indian children who, if they were born in Georgia (as many increasingly were), knew nothing about the homeplace of Robeson County. In the absence of their children's knowledge of the homeplace and in a county where their racial identity was ambiguous, Bulloch County Croatans found another way to make sure that children understood who they were. They created institutions that reinforced Indian social networks. Furthermore, maintaining an Indian-only school required the community to decide who was Indian and who was not; these decisions differentiated Indians from non-Indians in a shared geographical space.<sup>78</sup> Segregationist ideology assisted them in this effort.

---

<sup>75</sup> I have not found evidence of a deed of property from Foy or the Adabelle Trading Company to any church or school during this period.

<sup>76</sup> Pierce, et. al., 140.

<sup>77</sup> *The Robesonian*, 25 June 1914.

<sup>78</sup> There is some evidence that Croatan children attended school in the Manassas district of nearby Tattnall County as early as 1900. It is unclear whether or not they attended colored schools; one researcher says that many "Colored"



Croatans sustained their own school by recognizing the racial hierarchy and assuring whites of their perceived superiority. They employed a time-tested social strategy that anthropologist Karen Blu identifies as “making white friends.”<sup>79</sup> By gaining white friends, such as the school superintendent or local white ministers who occasionally addressed students, Croatans established an identity as “not black” in the minds of local whites and secured their school’s continued existence. A publicly-printed letter from C.L. Oxendine, the Adabelle Indian school’s principal, to the County school board, revealed this strategy. He “highly appreciate[ed]” the county’s “kindness” in appropriating \$25 per month, and complimented the school board as a “most kindly set of gentlemen” who gave the Croatans “every consideration.” He described his people as believing in “agriculture, education, and all enterprises that tend to lift a people to a higher standard of progressiveness, intelligence and Christian character.”<sup>80</sup> Oxendine appears to be an assimilationist, not an uncommon strategy for any American minority group in this period. He appealed to the qualities espoused by the mainstream at this time—“progressiveness, intelligence and Christian character”—reassuring readers that Croatans aspired to the same things that whites had already achieved, and by virtue of their slowness in achieving them, they were still inferior to whites. At the same time, Oxendine demonstrated that Croatans were superior to blacks, as Bulloch County whites debated the benefit of educating blacks at all.<sup>81</sup> His

---

children on school “enumeration” forms listed their home as North Carolina. “Some of these students were Lumbee,” she concludes, without further detail. Manassas is the district in which W.M. Foy originally launched his naval stores business; Indian parents may have sent their children there because of their association with his company in Adabelle. See Whalen, 10-11. Quote from p. 10. Alternately, there are indications of a second Croatan community south of Adabelle, closer to Claxton, Georgia (formerly in Tattnall County, presently in Evans County). These students may have been part of that community, which also seems to have established its own school. Barton, 40.

<sup>79</sup> Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 63, 71.

<sup>80</sup> *Bulloch Times*, April 16, 1914.

<sup>81</sup> By 1902, some whites in Bulloch County believed that blacks were not worth educating, given what they contributed to the economy. The *Statesboro News* reported that “the taxes [the negro] pays is about 1-10 what he gets out of the school fund... The average negro is not only a burden to his white friends in life but he has to buried

compliments to the school board affirmed whites' perception of their superiority. Oxendine's assimilationist veil, however, served a larger purpose by ensuring that Indians had a separate school and a sense of themselves as a people.

Croatans found their own social place in a new geographic place by taking advantage of Bulloch County's economic transition and its racial dynamics. Rather than simply being victimized by these ideologies, Croatans took an active role in establishing their place in the racial hierarchy. Given the economic and political circumstances of the time, that hierarchy must have seemed like a social fact, in spite of its dissimilarity from their own approach to identity. In order to preserve that approach in a shared environment, where they could not physically isolate themselves from foreign cultural influences, they embraced hierarchy and manipulated race to their own ends.

As World War I came to a close, Croatans' comfortable racial ambiguity in Bulloch County changed. C.L. Oxendine's strategy of accepting the racial hierarchy worked to sustain an Indian-only place, but an Indian named Warren Dial challenged that hierarchy and consequently affected the entire community. Sometime between 1917 and 1920, Warren Dial went into the town of Statesboro to get a haircut. He walked into a white barbershop around 1:00 pm. "He was sort of dark skinned," recalled James C. Dial, a Lumbee and distant relative of Warren Dial. When the barbershop closed around 6:00 and Warren Dial still had not had a haircut, "he just tore the place up." James Dial continued, "Back then the whites they had something like the Ku Klux Klan and...they came out to [Adabelle] trying to find him. And that generated some hard feelings between the races, then, and it sort of put the Indians at some disadvantage." James Dial remembered other stories about visits the Klan made to Adabelle: "Some of the white Ku Klux

---

by charity when he dies." *Statesboro News*, 1 Aug. 1902. This was a question debated throughout the South. See Adam Fairclough, *Better Day Coming: Blacks and Equality, 1890-2000* (New York: Viking, 2001), 47-53.

Klan...would come out at night...and search the place. And some of the Indians fought back, you know, with the guns.”<sup>82</sup>

Dial’s violent challenge to segregation and the Klan’s vigilante response forced even accommodationist Croatans into action. Before his outburst, the county’s white power structure had acquiesced to the Croatans’ insistence that they were “not black,” but afterwards, the Klan attempted to send Warren Dial—and the whole Croatan community of Adabelle—the message that they would be treated like blacks if they challenged the racial hierarchy. If whites could so easily redefine an anomalous group as black—especially one which, according to the 1890 newspaper reporter, did not even “look” black—the bi-racial dichotomy seemed hardly authentic or “natural;” Warren Dial not only threatened segregation, but he also endangered the fiction of the immutable biological characteristics that made racial segregation necessary. Rather than accommodate segregationist attitudes further, the Croatan community implemented another strategy to maintain their sense of their distinctiveness.

That strategy was to move home to Robeson County. The comfortable racial ambiguity that Croatans had found in Bulloch County was over. Whereas the racial hierarchy had assisted Indians in maintaining their distinct community, without having to claim racial purity or aboriginal connection to the land, the racial hierarchy actively began to threaten their

---

<sup>82</sup> James C. Dial, interview by the author, Pembroke, NC, November 19, 2001, hereafter James C. Dial interview. This incident is also reported in Barton, 30, 40. In 1915, the Klan had been revived at Stone Mountain, Georgia, when the Knights of Mary Phagan burned a cross and initiated the “new” Ku Klux Klan. They fashioned themselves as protectors of Southern womanhood by invoking the woman who had been allegedly killed by Leo Frank. Frank, a Jew and the manager at the factory where Phagan worked, was lynched near Marietta, Georgia after Governor John Slaton commuted his death sentence to life imprisonment. Populist leader Tom Watson, among others, was outraged at the Governor’s action and suggested reviving the Klan. In its public pronouncements, the Klan attacked anyone who was perceived as an outsider, including Jews, Catholics, and immigrants. Warren Dial may have been such an outsider to a Bulloch County Ku Klux Klan. See Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 5-12.



community's survival.<sup>83</sup> Rather than accept a racial category that did not acknowledge their identity, Croatans abandoned their economic prosperity and returned to Robeson County.

Warren Dial's explosion, however, may have been simply coincidental with other social developments. Even as early as 1911, the community was looking towards home: "They have not forgotten their old home," one correspondent wrote of the Croatan community; "they are preparing themselves to move back."<sup>84</sup> The Adabelle Trading Company closed its doors in 1917.<sup>85</sup> Perhaps their assurance of stable work had disappeared, perhaps the rumors of the boll weevil, which finally hit Bulloch County in 1919, drove them north back to Carolina. Perhaps the population growth that had supported the school began to decline. Regardless of the motivation, Indians such as E.J. Emanuel, Christianne Oxendine, Ashley Jacobs and his brother Will, all of whom had arrived in Bulloch County twenty years earlier as Indians, returned to Robeson County where their descendants live today as Indians.<sup>86</sup> The sojourn in Bulloch County had not destroyed their community identification. Indians' connections to home, their ability to make economic choices that secured those connections, and their creation of social institutions that reinforced ethnicity enabled them to preserve a community identity that led them back to Robeson County by 1920.

---

<sup>83</sup> James Dial also said that Indians left Bulloch County because "the [whites] cut the Indians off... they couldn't buy the supplies they needed." See James C. Dial interview. The relationship between racial intimidation and limited economic opportunities is well documented in the literature on sharecropping. See William Cohen, *At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Conquest for Racial Control, 1861-1915* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1991); Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery*.

<sup>84</sup> *The Robesonian*, 22 June 1911.

<sup>85</sup> Bulloch County, Georgia Superior Court Minutes, 1912-1919, 489.

<sup>86</sup> Barton, 19-20; "North Carolina Indian Returns for Last Look at Burial Site," *The Claxton Enterprise*, 18 Sept. 1975; "Annual Pilgrimage to Indian Cemetery Held," *The Statesboro Georgian*, 22 Nov. 1990; "Whatever Happened to... Lottie Emanuel Chavis."

In a landscape that they shared with non-Indians, Croatans did not take their community's identity for granted nor did they blend in with one or another dominant ethnic identity. They continually reinforced their distinctiveness as a community by employing strategies as diverse as maintaining long-distance kin ties and accommodating racial segregation. Even as place seemed unimportant to these migrants, their focus on maintaining a relationship between the old place and the new place and their ultimate return home testifies to the centrality of place in their sense of distinctiveness.

Almost seventy years after the last Croatan families left Bulloch County, North Carolina Lumbee descendants of this community demonstrated their connection to this distant place by visiting the cemetery that their ancestors established on Adabelle Trading Company property prior to 1910. They cleaned the graves and offered prayers to honor their dead kin. This pilgrimage encapsulates one of the Bulloch County Croatans' strategies for maintaining identity—reinforcing and strengthening kinship connections—but it also reflects the role of place in Croatan identity. To maintain the kinship connections, Lumbee descendants believed that it was critical to re-connect to the place where their ancestors rested. The cemetery's founders used the place to mark their community's separateness in foreign territory and to reinforce their kinship ties; they then used the economic and social changes brought by cotton agriculture and Jim Crow to preserve those connections. By resisting turpentine migration and simultaneously refusing to buy land, Croatans asserted their control over their economic resources and a willingness to adjust to available opportunities, rather than allow their community to dissolve. The Adabelle Indian school and church further fostered Indian identity by marking community in a physical way, so that community members could recognize where they belonged as well as to whom they belonged. Croatans' response to economic and social circumstances reveals that their

ability to perpetuate their distinct community had as much to do with their status relative to other races as it did with internal cultural values. While their Robeson County homeland was constantly present in their lives, Croatans in Bulloch County used the homeland's social networks to perpetuate and strengthen a group identity in a new place.



## TABLES

Table 1, Bulloch County Census, 1900  
*Family Structure*

General Population	Indian	White	Black
% adults/school-age	67%	74%	74%
% children	33%	26%	26%
 % with occupations listed	 39%	 31%	 37%
 Males with Occupations Listed	 Indian	 White	 Black
% born in GA	0%	80%	60%
% born in NC	100%	0%	13%
% born elsewhere	0%	20%	27%
 All Females, and Males with No Occupations Listed (includes adults and children)	 Indian	 White	 Black
% born in GA	34%	93%	93%
% born in NC	64%	0%	4%
% born elsewhere	2%	7%	4%

Table 2, Bulloch County Census, 1900 & 1910  
*Fluidity of Racial Categories and Geographic Location*

Total Indian Population	1900	1910
% live in Sinkhole (District 44)	22%	80%
% listed as Indian	N/A	27%
% listed as mulatto	N/A	71%
% listed as Black	80%	2%
% listed as White	20%	0%
 <i>Development of Social Institutions</i>		
Of School Age/Adult Population		
% been to school	2%	10%

Table 3, Bulloch County Census, 1900 & 1910  
Gender and Occupation

	1900	Mulatto	Indian	White	Black
<i>Of total population:</i>					
% occupied males		N/A	38%	31%	37%
% occupied females		N/A	1%	2%	11%
	1910	Mulatto	Indian	White	Black
<i>Of total population:</i>					
% occupied males		29%	33%	20%	23%
% occupied females		29%	2%	7%	17%
	1900	Mulatto	Indian	White	Black
<i>All Females, and Males with No Occupations Listed (Indians)</i>					
		N/A	34%	93%	93%
		N/A	64%	0%	4%
		N/A	2%	7%	4%
	1910	Mulatto	Indian	White	Black
<i>All Females, and Males with No Occupations Listed (Indians)</i>					
% born in GA		100%	73%	93%	93%
% born in NC		0%	27%	0%	7%
% born elsewhere		0%	0%	7%	0%
	1900	Mulatto	Indian	White	Black
<i>Males with Occupations Listed</i>					
% turpentine laborers		N/A	89%	0%	53%
% farmer		N/A	0%	60%	19%
% farm laborer		N/A	5%	30%	13%
% professional		N/A	0%	5%	0%
% other (includes Day laborers)		N/A	8%	5%	20%
	1910	Mulatto	Indian	White	Black
<i>Males with Occupations Listed</i>					
% turpentine laborers		50%	11%	0%	13%
% farmer ("Own Account")		0%	44%	9%	37.5%*
% farmer ("Employed")		0%	17%	45%	N/A
% farm laborer		0%	28%	0%	25%
% professional/merchant		0%	0%	9%	0%
% other (includes Unspecified laborers)		50%	0%	36%	25%

\*OA or Emp not listed

## Bibliography

### Unpublished Primary Sources

#### *Interviews*

Bruce Barton, 9 February 2001  
Barbara Braveboy-Locklear, 23 January 2001  
James C. Dial, 19 November 2001  
Waltz Maynor, 23 March 2001  
James Moore, 25 October 2001  
Dorothy Durrence Simmons, 14 March 2001

#### *Government Documents*

State of Georgia, Bulloch County. *Marriages, Colored and White*. Unpublished. 1892-1898.  
[Microfilm, Statesboro Regional Library, Statesboro, GA]

\_\_\_\_\_. *General Index to Deeds*. Unpublished. 1895-1911. [Microfilm, Family History Center, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Chapel Hill, NC]

\_\_\_\_\_. *General Index to Mortgages*. Unpublished. 1895-1911. [Microfilm, Family History Center, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints]

\_\_\_\_\_. *Superior Court Inventories, Appraisements and Sales*. Unpublished. 1889-1918.  
[Microfilm, Statesboro Regional Library]

\_\_\_\_\_. *Superior Court Minutes*. Unpublished. 1901-1904 and 1912-1919. [Microfilm, Statesboro Regional Library]

\_\_\_\_\_. *White and Colored Tax Digests*. Unpublished. 1890-1909. [Microfilm, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, GA]

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Bulloch County, Georgia. *Manuscript Census Population Schedule*. Unpublished. 1900-1910. [Microfilm, Davis Library, UNC-Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC]

\_\_\_\_\_. Robeson County, North Carolina. *Manuscript Census Population Schedule*. Unpublished. 1880. [Microfilm, Davis Library, UNC-Chapel Hill]

#### *Newspapers*

*Bulloch Times* (Statesboro, GA) [Microfilm, Statesboro Regional Library]

*Bulloch Herald* (Statesboro, GA) [Microfilm, Statesboro Regional Library]

*Statesboro (Georgia) Star* [Microfilm, Georgia Newspaper Project, University of Georgia, Athens, GA]

*The Robesonian* (Lumberton, NC) [Microfilm, North Carolina Collection, UNC-Chapel Hill]

*The Statesboro (Georgia) Eagle* [Microfilm, Statesboro Regional Library]



### Manuscript Collections

Barton, Bruce. "The Migration of NC Indians to Claxton/Adabelle, Ga. Area." Unpublished typescript, circa 1985. [Indian Education Resource Center, Pembroke, NC]

Simmons, Dorothy Durrence. Papers. [Private Collection]

### Published Primary Sources

"Annual Pilgrimage to Indian Cemetery Held." *The Statesboro Georgian*. 22 Nov. 1990.

Anonymous. *Memoirs of Georgia*. Atlanta: The Southern Historical Association, 1895.

Lawson, John. *A New Voyage to Carolina*. London: n.p., 1709.

McEachern, D.P., ed. *All About Robeson County*. Lumberton, NC: W.W. McDiarmid, 1884.

McMillan, Hamilton. *Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony: An Historical Sketch of the Attempts of Sir Walter Raleigh to Establish a Colony in Virginia, with the Traditions of an Indian Tribe in North Carolina. Indicating the Fate of the Colony of Englishmen Left on Roanoke Island in 1587*. Wilson, NC: Advance Press, 1888.

"North Carolina Indian Returns for Last Look at Burial Site." *The Claxton Enterprise*. 18 Sept. 1975.

Olds, Fred A. *An Abstract of North Carolina Wills from about 1760 to about 1800*. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1972.

"Whatever Happened to...Lottie Emanuel Chavis." *Carolina Indian Voice*. 31 Jan. 1991.

### Secondary Sources

#### Unpublished

Hargis, Peggy G. "In Quest of the Golden Fleece: African-American Landholding in Georgia, 1874-1933." Ph.D. diss., University of Georgia, 1994.

Jones, William Powell. "Cutting through Jim Crow: African American lumber workers in the Jim Crow South, 1919-1960." Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 2000.

Outland, Robert B. "Another New South: patterns of continuity in the southern naval stores industry." Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1999.

Makofsky, Abraham. "Tradition and Change in the Lumbee Indian Community of Baltimore." Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1971.

Whalen, Gail. "Draft Historical Narrative for the Manassas National Register Historic District Nomination, 1995." Altamaha Georgia Southern Regional Development Commission, Baxley, Georgia. Photocopy.

Wilkins, David. "Racial Identity and the Federal Recognition Process: A Case Study of the Lumbee Indians. Paper presented at "Eating Out of the Same Pot": Relating Black and Indian (Hi)stories. Dartmouth College. April, 2000, Hanover, NH.

Wright, Gay Goodman. "Turpentine: An Ethnohistorical Study of a Southern Industry and Way of Life." M.A. thesis, University of Georgia, 1979.

*Published*

Armstrong, Thomas F. "Georgia Lumber Laborers, 1880-1917: The Social Implications of Work." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 67 (1983): 435-50.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Transformation of Work: Turpentine Workers in Coastal Georgia, 1865-1901." *Labor History* 25 (1984): 518-532.

Barth, Fredrik. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969.

Berry, Brewton. *Almost White*. New York: Macmillan, 1963.

Blu, Karen I. *The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

\_\_\_\_\_. "'Where Do You Stay At?' Home Place and Community Among the Lumbee." In *Senses of Place*, ed. Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1996.

Bordewich, Fergus M. *Killing the White Man's Indian: Reinventing Native Americans at the End of the Twentieth Century*. New York: Doubleday, 1996.

Butler, Carroll B. *Treasures of the Longleaf Pines: Naval Stores*. Shalimar, FL: Tarkel Publishing, 1998.

Brannen, Dorothy. *Life in Old Bulloch: The Story of a Wiregrass County in Georgia, 1796-1940*. Statesboro, GA: Statesboro Regional Library, 1992.

Bynum, Victoria E. "'White Negroes' in Segregated Mississippi: Miscegenation, Racial Identity, and the Law." *The Journal of Southern History* 64 (May 1998): 247-276.

Carson, James Taylor. *Searching for the Bright Path: The Mississippi Choctaws from Prehistory to Removal*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 1999.



- Clifton, James A. "Alternate Identities and Cultural Frontiers." In *Being and Becoming Indian: Biographical Studies of North American Frontiers*, ed. James A. Clifton. Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1989.
- Cohen, William. *At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Conquest for Racial Control, 1861-1915*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1991.
- Dane, J.K. and B. Eugene Griessman. "The Collective Identity of Marginal Peoples: The North Carolina Experience." *American Anthropologist* 74 (Feb-April 1972): 694-704.
- Daniel, Pete. *The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901-1969*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1972.
- Davis, Dave D. "A Case of Identity: Ethnogenesis of the New Houma Indians." *Ethnohistory* 48 (Summer 2001): 473-94.
- Davis, Robert Scott. *A History of Montgomery County, Georgia to 1918*. Roswell, GA: WH Wolfe Associates, 1992.
- DeMarce, Virginia. "Looking at Legends—Lumbee and Melungeon: Applied Genealogy and the Origins of Tri-Racial Isolate Settlements." *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 81 (March 1993): 24-45.
- . "'Verry Slitly Mixt': Tri-racial Isolate Families of the Upper South—A Genealogical Study." *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 80 (March 1992): 5-35.
- Dial, Adolph L. and David K. Eliades. *The Only Land I Know: A History of the Lumbee Indians*. San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1975.
- Dominguez, Virginia. *White by Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986.
- Eliades, David K. and Linda Ellen Oxendine. *Pembroke State University: A Centennial History*. Columbus, GA: Brentwood University Press, 1986.
- Evans, W. McKee. *To Die Game: The Story of the Lowry Band, Indian Guerillas of Reconstruction*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana University Press, 1971.
- Fairclough, Adam. *Better Day Coming: Blacks and Equality, 1890-2000*. New York: Viking, 2001.
- Foster, Morris W. *Being Comanche: A Social History of an American Indian Community*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1991.
- Fowler, Loretta. *Shared Symbols, Contested Meanings: Gros Ventre Culture and History, 1778-1984*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987.



- Flynn, Charles L. *White Land, Black Labor: Caste and Class in Late Nineteenth-century Georgia*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1983.
- Fogelson, Raymond D. "Perspectives on Native American Identity." In *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Russell Thornton. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998.
- Gilbert, William H. Jr. "The Wesorts of Maryland: An Outcasted Group." *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 35 (August 15, 1945): 237-46.
- Gonzales, Angela. "The (Re)Articulation of American Indian Identity: Maintaining Boundaries and Regulating Access to Ethnically Tied Resources." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 22 (1998): 199-225.
- Gregorie, Anne King. *History of Sumter County, South Carolina*. Sumter, SC: Library Board of Sumter County, 1954.
- Gutman, Herbert G. *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1976.
- Hale, Grace Elizabeth. *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940*. New York: Vintage, 1998.
- Hargis, Peggy. "Beyond the Marginality Thesis: The Acquisition and Loss of Land by African Americans in Georgia, 1880-1930." *Agricultural History* 72 (Spring 1998): 241-62.
- Heinegg, Paul. *Free African Americans of North Carolina, Virginia, and South Carolina: From the Colonial Period to about 1820*. Baltimore, MD: Clearfield, 2001.
- Hickman, Nollie. *Mississippi Harvest: Lumbering in the Longleaf Pine Belt, 1840-1915*. University, MS: The University of Mississippi Press, 1962.
- Hodges, Lucille. *A History of Our Locale, Mainly Evans County, GA*. Macon, GA: Southern Press, 1965.
- Holt, Sharon Ann. "Making Freedom Pay: Freedpeople Working for Themselves, North Carolina, 1865-1900." *The Journal of Southern History* 60 (May 1994), 229-262.
- Jaimes, M. Annette. "Federal Indian Identification Policy: A Usurpation of Indigenous Sovereignty in North America." In *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, ed. M. Annette Jaimes. Boston: South End Press, 1992.
- Johnson, Guy B. "Personality in a White-Indian-Negro Community." *American Sociological Review* 4 (1939): 516-23.

- Kennedy, N. Brent and Robyn Vaughan Kennedy. *The Melungeons: The Resurrection of a Proud People*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1994.
- Lippard, Lucy R. *The Lure of the Local: Senses of Place in a Multicentered Society*. New York: The New Press, 1997.
- Lovett, Laura L. "'African and Cherokee By Choice': Race and Resistance under Legalized Segregation." *American Indian Quarterly* 22 (Winter/Spring 1998): 203-29.
- MacLean, Nancy. *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- McCulloch, Anne Merline and David E. Wilkins. "'Constructing' Nations Within States: the Quest for Federal Recognition by the Catawba and Lumbee Tribes." *American Indian Quarterly* 19 (Summer 1995): 361-87.
- Miller, Christopher L. and George R. Hamell. "A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact." In *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850*, ed. Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Morgan, Edmund S. *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1975.
- Nagel, Joane. *American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- . "American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Politics and the Resurgence of Identity." *American Sociological Review* 60 (December 1995): 947-65.
- Outland, Robert B., III. "Slavery, Work, and the Geography of the North Carolina Naval Stores Industry, 1835-1860." *Journal of Southern History* 62 (1996): 27-56.
- Paredes, J. Anthony. "Paradoxes of Modernism and Indianness in the Southeast." *American Indian Quarterly* 19 (Summer 1995): 341-60.
- Perdue, Theda. *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1979.
- Perry, Percival. "The Naval Stores Industry in the Old South, 1790-1860." *Journal of Southern History* 34 (1968): 509-26.
- Pierce, Julian T. and Cynthia Hunt-Locklear, et. al. *The Lumbee Petition*. 3 vols. Pembroke, NC: Lumbee River Legal Services, 1987.
- Rabinowitz, Howard N. "From Exclusion to Segregation: Southern Race Relations, 1865-1890." *Journal of American History* 58 (September 1976): 325-50.



Russell, Virginia W. *A Century of Presbyterianism in Bulloch County*. Statesboro, GA: First Presbyterian Church, 1991.

Sider, Gerald M. *Lumbee Indian Histories: Race, Ethnicity, and Indian Identity in the Southern United States*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Simmons, Dorothy Durrence. *A History of Evans County*. Privately published, 1999.

Snipp, C. Matthew. *American Indians: First of this Land*. New York: Russell Sage, 1989.

Strickland, John Scott. "Traditional Culture and Moral Economy: Social and Economic Change in the South Carolina Low Country, 1865-1910." In *From Slavery to Sharecropping: White Land and Black Labor in the Rural South, 1865-1900*. Ed. Donald G. Nieman. New York: Garland, 1994.

Thomas, Kenneth H., Jr. *McCranie's Turpentine Still, Atkinson County, GA*. Athens, GA: Institute of Community and Area Development, 1975.

Wetherington, Mark V. *The New South Comes to Wiregrass Georgia, 1860-1910*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1994.

Williamson, Joel. *The Crucible of Race: Black/white Relations in the American South Since Emancipation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Woodward, C. Vann. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.



# BULLOCH COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

P. O. Box 42  
Statesboro, GA 30459

Non-Profit  
Organization  
U.S. Postage  
PAID  
Statesboro, GA  
Permit No. 400



MARVIN GOSS  
1943 LAKEVIEW RD.  
STATESBORO GA 30461